1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

Jābir living below Shibam, Āl Bā Sūdān at Du'an, Bā Humeid at Madūda and Seiyun, Āl Bureik at Shahwa, Bā Khatib at Tarim, Bā Wa'l at Tarim, and Āl Bā 'Umar at 'Ajlanīa between Henin and Al Qatn.

565 162

Yafa'is.

The Yafa'is are the *'asākir* or soldiers and the actual rulers of Qu'aiti territory. Their introduction as mercenaries, described in the historical chapters, has led to the foundation of two dynasties, that of the Kasadis of Lower Yafa' and that of the Qu'aitis who drove out the Kasadis. The places in which some of the Yafa'is live will appear later when the inhabitants of the various provinces of Qu'aiti territory are enumerated. I have also given in an appendix a list of the various Yafa'i tribes with their sections, strength and situation.

565 162 463

The Qu'aiti dynasty springs from a section of the Mausata tribe and is historically quite recent. Although the Sultan and his relations have had no personal contacts with their country they exercise some influence in Upper Yafa', and the Yafa'i connection is still a live one, as a great many Upper Yafa'is regularly go to the Hadhramaut to take service in the Qu'aiti forces, returning after a few years to their own country. Other Yafa'is have become settled in the Hadhramaut and form a powerful party on whom the Qu'aiti could depend in the case of disturbances.

[173]

The following are amongst Yafa'i tribes and sections represented in the Hadhramaut, the sections being shown in brackets after each tribe: Adh Dhubi (Al Mosilli, Al Kasadi, Ash Shanāthira, Al Jahāwisha), Al Bu'si (Al Gharama, Az Zaghālida, Al Homām, Al Mattash), Al Mausata (Ar Robak, Āl Yazid. Āl Batati).

565 162

Tribesmen.

The history of the tribes of the Hadhramaut has been, generally speaking, sufficiently indicated in the historical instruction, and their location and strength will be dealt with in the description of the various provinces.

600

There are only four words used in the Hadhramaut for the nomenclature of the divisions of a tribe. *Az Zei* is a confederation of tribes with a single leader. There are only three *Zeis* in the Hadhramaut, the Seibani, the Nūwah, and the Hamumi. The Shenafir Confederation is not a *Zei*, for while the leaders of the Āl 'Abdulla Kathīris are Sultans, they do not head the whole confederation of tribes. A tribe, *Qabila*, is sub-divided into a *Beit*, and a *Beit* into a *Fara'*. I cannot claim any particular merit for the divisions I have used, namely, Tribe, Clan, Section, and Sub-section, except that by using the word Clan I have avoided the clumsy term sub-sub-section which I found used in some statements of the other tribes of the Protectorate.

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The Hadhrami tribesmen, like those of the rest of the Protectorate, are extremely conservative and "never depart from their tribal customs." Most of them are nomads moving over their areas

181 560

[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
463 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a
577 pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on
behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks
refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and
not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are
payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man
kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own
death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated,
a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kins-
folk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a
charge on the whole trbe, and if they do not associate themselves
with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods
or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are
never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father
had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a
claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western.
There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible
that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be,
as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western
neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood,
sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more
reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
and the following are the principal families.

[173] *In Tarim:* Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

1/ [The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

1:Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

I never heard a suggestion from masters or slaves that they were anything but exceedingly well treated. They include principally the *Nizam*, the most trusted part of the forces of the Qu'aiti and Kathīri, and receive very exceptional treatment compared with other servants of the State. They can rise to the highest positions, and the present Governor of the Shibam province is a slave. I also met a slave Governor of the town of Hajarein in the Du'an province, and I believe there are others. The town magistrate of Mukalla is also a slave. The young slaves belonging to the Mukalla Government are given especial care and training, and are formed into companies of cadets. They gave us a very creditable drill display in Mukalla.

It is possible that there may be a very occasional case of slave trading, and some women may have been introduced in recent years to the main valley, but this is not done with the approval or cognizance of the Mukalla Government.

Subians.

The Subians form definitely the lowest class of the population. Some of them are agricultural labourers receiving wages or paid in kind, and there are settlements of them outside coastal towns like Mukalla and Shihr. When they are settled next door to a town they do the hewing of wood, the drawing of water, and perform such sanitary services as are carried out by sweepers in other eastern countries.

I was informed that the word "*Subian*" comes from "*Sabi*", a boy. In the Hadhramaut they originate from the Wadi Hajr, and for this reason in the western part of the Protectorate are known as Hajris. They are said to be the descendants of the Abyssinian invaders of the third to sixth centuries A.D., and to have been reduced to their present lowly estate after the Abyssinians had been routed by the Persians on the intervention of Seif bin Dhi Yazan. This is the tale told in the Hadhramaut, and d'Arnaud recounts a similar story as the origin of the Khadims of Yemen and Aden. Neither slaves nor Subians can be the subjects of blood feuds.

Immigration.

Apart from these classes of the population, there are a number of immigrants settled, or partially settled, in the country. There are 300 British Indians in Mukalla and Shihr, and a few British Somalis. There are also some Italian Somalis. The total number of Somalis in the country is said to be about 1,200, of whom 1,000 reside in Mukalla. Owing to extensive migration to the East Indies, which will be further described later in the report, there has been a considerable infiltration of Malayan blood, and very East Indian types of countenances are to be observed in some of the up-country towns. The type is not uncommon in Tarim and Seiyun, but I found it very marked in the towns of Badra and Haura.

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Clan.	Section.	Places.	Nos.
Nahd Āl Maqārīm	—	Diyār al Maqārīm	30
	Āl Tāhir	Bā Hasān	20
	Āl Muhanna	Al Juwa	20
	Āl Nuheid	Ash Shi'b	30
	do.	Mad-har	40
	Āl Muhammad bin 'Āmr.	'Uneibida and Zukeika	50
	Āl Kuleib	Manwab and Al Ghatāa	70
	Āl Bedr Muhammad	Manwab and Al Ghatāa	40
	Āl Rabbā'	Sadba	50–70
	do.	Badra, Al 'Ardh, Sirāj, Diyār Āl Nāsir.	160
	Āl Makhāshin	Al 'Ardh, 'Arūdh al Makhāshin.	70
	Āl 'Umar bin Ja'far (Sultans).	Al 'Ajlānia	17–30
	Āl Najjar	—	—
Bā Bekr Āl Hukman Āl Shabbal Āl Hatra	4 sections.		
			2,087–2,160

The Nahd live on the left bank of the Wadi Hadhramaut starting from a point opposite the confluence of the Wadis Du'an and 'Amd due north of Haura. They are Qahtanis and claim descent from Kinda. Ibn Khaldun states that the Beni Nahd are derived from Qudha'ā and that they settled in Yemen in the neighbourhood of the Beni Khath'am. He says they are like wild beasts and that the vulgar call them *As Sarwa*. Most of them are a mixed race, partly descended from the Beni Khath'am and Bajīla. Hamdani, who calls the Nahd a sub-tribe of the Beni 'Ans, mentions the Beni Harām as being the principal sub-division of the Beni Nahd.

The Nahd generally are usually on bad terms with the Sei'ar, though the latter visit their markets in the main wadi. Some of the Nahd are allied to the Qu'aitis and some to the Kathīris. The Qu'aiti has an " A " agreement with the Āl Makhāshin and " B " agreements with the Āl Bā Bakr and the Nahd Rōdhān, though the former are also claimed as allies and followers of the Kathīris.

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● [463]
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The majority of the tribe are agriculturists and grow dates, jowari, and some wheat. The Nahd Dhulfan, whose country is mostly arid and cultivated only after rainfall, live principally by selling firewood and stones in Qu'aiti towns. About three-quarters of the Nahd al Maqārīm are agriculturists and many of them grow wheat on well irrigation; the rest of the clan are Beduins who rear camels and sheep. The Āl Kuleib and Āl Nuheid, who are poor, possess little more than a few date trees; they sell firewood and other things in the Qu'aiti towns. The Āl Makhāshin are settled

[See page 92, category 116 - - Analyst]

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[Straits Settlements] Malaya AN1

12,000 at 50, and more than 12,000 at 15. To-day the estimated number of the community in Singapore is 580, made up as follows :—

Born in Hadhramaut		*Born in Singapore.*		*Children above 10 years*
Males.	*Females.*	*Males.*	*Females.*	*say*
120	20	160	180	100

The females born in Singapore are of mixed race with Arab, Malay, Javanese, Bugis, and Chinese blood. It may be presumed that this remark applies to some of the males born in Singapore and most of the children.

The number of Hadhramaut Arabs in Singapore to-day is about 10 per cent. less than in 1925. This reduction is attributed chiefly to the slump which caused some members of the community formerly resident in Singapore to move to neighbouring countries, and principally Java. The Hadhramis in Singapore are principally occupied as

1. House, land, and estate proprietors.
2. Kain Batik (cloth) dealers.
3. Miscellaneous professions including importers of merchandise from Arabia.
4. Brokers.
5. Religious teachers and *Imams*.

The community for its size is the wealthiest in Singapore owing to its large holdings in house, land, and estate property. Lee Warner (Geographical Journal, March 1931) says that "whole streets in Singapore and Penang are owned by wealthy Hadhramis, mainly of the Kathiri tribes." The community, probably owing to the religious objection to interest, invests its profits in land and house property.

The 13 principal individuals or families represented in Singapore own property valued at 21,800,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to about £2,544,000. Out of this amount the wealth of one family is estimated alone at 10,000,000 Straits dollars, equivalent to nearly £1,170,000. Two other fortunes also run into millions of dollars.

Trade with the Hadhramaut, or more accurately with Arabia, is not carried on on a large scale. It is confined to: *Exports:* cloth (Kain Batik), sandalwood, incense, crockery, and brassware. *Imports:* ghee, honey, Arab incense, native medicines and herbs, rosaries, and Arab coffee.

Regarding the part played by the Hadhramis in local affairs the information given is that the Hadhrami-born element does not take much interest in local social life or politics, but confines itself to its own groups. These people are conservative, good business men, respectable, dignified, and patriotic to their own country of origin and law-abiding to their country of adoption. They confine their interests to money making and religious exercises and maintain

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

In 1876 the Hadhramis were described (Christie, *Cholera Epidemics in East Africa*) as being the largest slave holders in Zanzibar and it is stated that they were entirely dependent upon them for their livelihood. It was, in fact, amongst the slaves in the household of a Hadhrami living in the quarter of Malindi that the great cholera epidemic, which subsequently swept over the island and thence to East Africa, began in 1869.

But it was not only in trading that the Hadhramis occupied themselves. From at least the first half of the nineteenth century until comparatively recent times many of them entered the service of the Sultans as soldiers and Government officials (especially treasurers, clerks, Liwalis and Qadhis). Guillain, writing in 1856, says that the Sultan maintained a fairly large number of Hadhramis in the garrisons of Africa and Omān, while in 1877, at the time when Lieutenant (later General) Lloyd Matthews was called in by Sultan Seiyid Barghash to reorganise his army, the Seiyid's forces consisted almost entirely of Persians and Hadhramis (Lyne, *Zanzibar in Contemporary Times*, 1905). In modern times the Hadhramis have maintained their reputation as soldiers, for a large number from Zanzibar joined the Arab Rifles during the Great War. Guillain also mentions that Hadhramis were very largely employed as porters ("*hamalis*") and estimated their floating population in Zanzibar at three or four hundred. In addition, Shihiris were employed for many years as captains and officers in the Sultans' ships.

Vital Statistics.

The 1931 Census gives the total Hadhrami[1] population of the Protectorate as 2,797 made up as follows :—

	Zanzibar Island.	*Pemba Island.*
Zanzibar Town and Native Quarter	1,313	1,333
Districts	151	
	1,464	1,333
Total for Protectorate	2,797	

Of the population in the Island of Zanzibar, 621 are recorded as having been born in the Protectorate and 843 elsewhere. Corresponding figures for the Island of Pemba are not given. It seems clear, however, that the returns are inaccurate for, by common consent, it is not likely that the population in Pemba exceeded two or three hundred (see also 1924 Census, in the Appendix to this note). It should be remembered that as their women rarely emigrate, Hadhramis who settle in the islands mostly marry local

[1] Both in the 1924 and the 1931 Census Reports the only relevant classifications used are "Arabs" and "Shihiris." As, however, the term "Shihiri" when used in Zanzibar frequently denotes the up-country native as well as the coastal inhabitant, it is assumed that the term, as used in the Reports, includes all natives of the Hadhramaut.

1: Ingrams G-5 (1934-35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

Trade and Occupations.

In the Appendix to this note will be found statistics in regard to the trade between Zanzibar and Aden during the years 1932-4. No separate record is kept in respect of the merchandise with which these notes are mainly concerned (i.e., merchandise transported by Hadhramis themselves in dhows), but the following table furnished by the Comptroller of Customs gives a very rough estimate :—

Imports.	Per cent.	*Exports.*	Per cent.
Fish, dried	90	Clove and clove stems ...	20
Ghee	100	Coconuts	100
Salt	75	Simsim (re-export) ...	95
Tobacco, native ...	50	Coconut oil	100
Cotton manufactures ...	60	Iron and Steel manufactures	100
Medicines	100		
Sugar	100		
Colour materials ...	100		

As, however, it is understood that most of the dhows plying between Zanzibar and the Hadhramaut enter and leave the ports of Mukalla, Seihut and Shihr (imports and exports in respect of which are presumably included under the separate and general head "Arabia") without touching the port of Aden, the foregoing information can be of little value.

It may be said generally, however, that the non-settled elements of the Hadhrami population, who move backwards and forwards between their homes and the Protectorate for the purpose of trading, bring with them, when they arrive in the north-east monsoon, such articles as clothes (loin cloths, etc.), honey, henna, dried fish, salt, ghee, livestock, dates and shark oil (sifa), some of which are obtained en route on the Somaliland coast. A number of the visitors, having disposed of their goods, return to the Hadhramaut a few months later in the south-west monsoon taking with them locally grown millet; others, finding employment, stay on for two or three years or more until they have accumulated sufficient money—two or three hundred rupees or so—to return to their homes.

The latest Zanzibar Census (1931) does not include statistics in regard to the occupation of the people, but the directions in which the Hadhramis find employment are indicated in the 1924 Census, relevant extracts from which are contained in the Appendix to this note. It will be observed that the commonest occupations were the following, in the order mentioned: General traders, labourers, water carriers, private servants (no occupation), other occupations, Government employees, fishermen, and gold and silversmiths. Included in the list are of course the Hadhrami coolies, stevedores,

I:Ingrams G-5 (1934 35)1936 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2
Zanzibar FM1

coffee-shop and small store keepers, and itinerant coffee vendors who are so much in evidence, while particular mention should also be made of the shark and dried fish dealers, the dealers in baskets (*vikapo*) and mats (*majamvi* and *makanda*), and those engaged in the meat trade between Zanzibar and the African mainland ports (especially Kismayu, Lamu and Dar-es-Salaam), in all of which occupations the Hadhramis have almost a monopoly. It is of interest to notice here that the meat trade was almost exclusively in the hands of the Hadhramis as long ago as 1876 (Christie). Fishing and hawking are practised by the Shihiris alone, while basket and mat making is confined to the up-country natives. Fitzgerald writing in 1898 (*Travels in B.E.A., Zanzibar and Pemba*), states that the making of mats (*makanda*), which were used for the exporting of grain, was confined to the Shihiris and the Gunias (Bajunis).

Although, formerly, the Hadhramis owned many clove and coconut plantations and much house property in the Town of Zanzibar, they now have little property of either kind. It is probable that much of it has passed into the hands of Indians.

Political and Social.

Absorbed in trade and the accumulation of money, the members of the Hadhrami community are comparatively indifferent to politics and are therefore not important factors in the political life of the Protectorate. Although hot-tempered by nature, they are as a rule law-abiding and loyal, giving little trouble to Government and seldom appearing in the Courts. During the years 1923 to 1928, however, a series of affrays occurred in most, if not all, of which the Hadhramis are known to have been the aggressors. The victims of their attacks were successively the Baluchis, the Khoja and Hindu Indians, and the Muscat and Suri Arabs. The last and most serious disturbance occurred in 1928 when fighting between the Hadhramis and the Omani Arabs continued intermittently for four days during the course of which four persons were killed and some 30 wounded. Nasir bin 'Abdulla al Kathīri,[1] the chief ringleader, and others were subsequently deported. There has been no further trouble.

In 1926 a split occurred in the community, the majority following Nasir bin 'Abdulla (Hadhrami, see above) and the minority Sa'id 'Abūd al Humeid (Shihiri). The rival factions were only prevented from coming to blows by the intervention of the Sultan.

[1] Nasir 'Abdulla is an example of a Hadhrami who emigrates to more than one of the people's favourite hunting grounds abroad. After he and his deported companions had appealed, with the support of His Highness the Qu'aiti Sultan, but unsuccessfully, against their removal from Zanzibar he migrated to Java, whither emigrating Kathiris mostly direct their steps, and returned to Mukalla in December, 1934. He has now gone back to his tribe.

Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

693 tribal customs. He at once took out of his house everything this guest had
671 touched—carpets, matting, blankets, cooking-pots and the like—and burnt
777 or destroyed it all. His action in so doing was so deeply felt by the guest's
626 own family that they shot him within the week. Had any Chief chosen a similar way of showing his disapproval it is doubtful if the guest's family would have looked upon the matter with such concern and would probably have accused the Chief of insulting them.

565 This completes the upper classes in the community, the Chiefs and
631 tribesmen and the holy men of various types. The picture, then, is of a community ruled over by three types of Chief, split into smaller tribes each ruled by its headman, and again split into villages under a village headman. Among them move the Seyyids, descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, and the descendants of saints, the servants of Prophets' tombs and of the abodes of Jinns, each electing their own headman within their own families and all, in a varying degree, landowners or tithe-owners.

565 We now come to the landless classes. These have been in the past
463 incorrectly grouped under one heading as Raya, or peasants. We will
465 therefore take the true Raya class first. It is small and is composed of
421 those men who farm land not as tenants but as paid farm-hands. The
792 Scottish "grieve" is an example. They have no land or houses of their own, the produce of the land belongs entirely to the landowners, who give the Raya pay for their labour in cash and kind. The landowner is often a distant saint or Prophet. Thus, for example, a saint may, by ancient custom, receive a tenth of the crop on a tribesman's land, but from his own land he receives all, and the Chief of the Holy Sheikhs will remit a certain amount in return for the peasant's labour. This distinction has frequently led to misunderstandings when political officers have investigated accusations of robbery against Chiefs. It frequently occurs that one farmer is paying the tenth allowed by the holy law to a Chief, while the other next door is paying, say, 70 per cent. On the surface it seems very unequal treatment, but it will usually be found that the first farmer is farming his own land and paying taxes, while the other is of the Raya class, farming the Chief's own land and receiving pay.

421 Where districts have retrogressed through loss of control on the part of
565 the Chief, the greatest care is needed when one is setting up control again to see that the tribesmen are confirmed in their lands and that the Raya do not suddenly pretend that they are tribesmen, in an endeavour to secure land which is not theirs, and that Raya do not change service against their will during the settlement of land disputes. Although a small class they are an important one, and few officials have given sufficient study to their social position.

765 Their origin is a puzzle. They are of the same race as the tribesmen
144 and can bear arms. They are probably descended from remnants of tribal sections who have lost their land in war or who have been compelled to sell it.

565 Very similar to these Raya are the agriculturists of the Dha'if class.
463 The Dha'if is a large class and differs from the Raya in that they are not entirely landless peasants, but are also landless shopkeepers and artisans. Those who work as peasants are distinguished from the Raya in that they

5: Hamilton G-5 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

do not remain for any length of time on one plot of land, but take up all kinds of casual labour as well as farm labour. Among such one may find carpenters, gunsmiths, builders and tradesmen. The manufacture of indigo dye, with which the Mushreqi tribesman dyes himself and his clothes, and the sale of indigo-dyed cotton is, to a large extent, in their hands. Large families of this class are to be found throughout the territory in the market towns. Unlike the Raya, they do not bear arms.

The Heiq class is almost indistinguishable from the Dha'if, but there is a distinction in that the Heiq can be described as the lower third of the Dha'if class. That is, that the whole class of artisans and casual labourers can be described, in a generalization, as Dha'if, but the poorer, unskilled casual labourer is of the Heiq class. As an example, a rich shopkeeper is Dha'if, but, because of his possessions, is not Heiq. It is not a very important distinction. Dha'if in Arabic means "weak." I am unable to discover the derivation of Heiq, but we can take it to mean "of low quality."

The Asakar, or hired soldier class, are a class in themselves. They are of two kinds—freed slaves still in the service of their master and tribesmen who have lost their lands and their status and entered the service of their Chief. Once this happens to a tribesman, he or his descendants can never return again to the status of tribesmen, but remain ever afterwards Askari, whether they still serve master or not. They have dropped below the aristocratic classes and can no longer intermarry with tribesmen. I have heard of no exceptions to this hard rule.

The next class is that of the Doshan, plural Doashin. I can find no derivation to the name. They are of two kinds—wandering singers and dancers, and settled singing-men who have attached themselves to a particular tribe. Their origin is a mystery. The wanderings ones, who give the most dismal performances of what they call dancing, can always be driven out of camp. It is best, however, to be polite to the settled ones. They are skilled versifiers, and those who treat them with contempt must submit afterwards to unmerciful lampooning. On public holidays in up-country towns one of them frequently appoints himself as Amir Al 'Id, or "Amir of the Holiday." Supported by his friends and anyone who wants some fun, he calls upon the local Chief and demands a present and entertainment. This the Chief refuses, and receives an ultimatum challenging him to war in a few minutes. The war which ensues is conducted for the most part with fireworks, blank ammunition, water and balls of dung. The Chief's fort is the centre of attack. Eventually the Chief will ask for a truce, ambassadors are exchanged and all ends in an entertainment and a present to the "Amir." At other times they will institute rhyming competitions, or will compose and sing long Qasidas on the local political situation. Some of these settled Doashin become men of mark, but they have, for all their poems and lampoons, little effect on tribal policy and no say whatever in tribal affairs.

Slaves need no introduction. The slave trade in the south is dead, but the descendants of Abyssinian slaves still serve their original masters. It would be absurd to free them; they are completely free, but slavery is their only niche in the community. Take that away and they would be homeless and workless. As in the rest of Arabia, except the Zeidi Yemen,

9: Ingrams G-4 (1934-1944) 1945 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

behind it, and not the high mountains of the Yemen. Its height above the sea-level nowhere exceeds 6,000 feet and is generally not more than 3,500. It has therefore no regular rainfall.

Then, as regards treaties, while the W.A.P. has a total of about thirty-five chiefs in direct relation with His Majesty's Government, the E.A.P. has only seven, of which one, the Kathiri, is comparatively recent. The reason is that in the E.A.P. all that was required was to keep foreign powers off the coast. All the six original treaties with E.A.P. rulers were with coastal chiefs. Starting from the west, 'Irqa and Haura are only small villages. The two Wahidi Sultans come next, then the Qu'aiti, the largest of them all, whose state to-day covers some 50,000 square miles, and then the Mahra, which includes Socotra Island. While the W.A.P. is historically part of the Yemen, and has now a new and natural capital in Aden which supplies it with all its requirements, the E.A.P. is historically and geographically detached and has a local commercial capital in Mukalla, but looks to India, Singapore, and Java for its cultural and social contacts.

The Hadhramaut is historically and geographically a country in itself, and consists of the Wahidi Sultanates, with the two little Sheikhdoms of 'Irqa and Haura, which are really ports in the country of the Dhiyeibi tribe, who are a Wahidi tribe, and the Qu'aiti and Kathiri States. I propose not to say anything more of the Mahra country because as yet little is known about it, though in the last year or two more has been learnt of Socotra.

You will have gathered, I think, that, owing to its desert nature and lack of rainfall, the prospects of the development of agriculture in the Hadhramaut are not very promising, and as the various explorations that have taken place to date have not discovered any mineral resources, it does not look as though the economic future is very bright. The best agricultural areas are Gheil Ba Wazir, on the coast, where Hamumi tobacco is very successfully grown, and this brings in a revenue of about Rs. 200,000 a year to the state, and Meifa, in which conditions have been considerably improved in the last few years and where some further development is possible. It was hoped that the alluvial silt of the Wadi Hadhramaut would prove a fertile area for wide development if water could be found, but experiment has shown that it is largely brackish and, bearing in mind the desert surroundings, it is probable that any further supplies of water which boring might discover would not be sufficient to wash out the salt. It is unfortunate, too, that the bulk of the population, the seiyids and tribesmen, do not take to working on the land themselves, as do the tribesmen of the W.A.P., but rely on dhafa, a class of poor townsmen who are almost in the position of serfs. These dhafa lived by building the palaces of the rich and working their wells, but the fall of Singapore and Java cut off the supplies of money from the Far East so that the rich could no longer maintain them. The beduin had lived by carrying supplies from the coast to the interior, but with the falling off of imports they too suffered. On top of this catastrophe there was a seven-year drought from 1937 to 1944, which meant the loss of crops, flocks, and 50 per cent. of the working camels, so that between the difficulties of

passes Gheil Ba Wazir, a well-built walled town and the headquarters of the Hamumi tobacco-growing industry. The most skilful diggers of wells and irrigation channels and tunnels come from this place and the system of water which irrigates the tobacco plantations is extremely thorough.

Shihr is an ancient town. Its present walls are not old but there has been a town on this site for at least eight hundred or nine hundred years, and the principal coastal town of the neighbourhood has been hereabouts for a great deal longer. Mukalla of course is much newer. Shihr is an important fishing centre and vast quantities of fish are brought in daily to be sun dried for up-country consumption or eaten fresh locally. Weaving, dyeing, and mat making are minor but locally important industries. About 7 miles from Shihr is Tubala which has been built on a hill over sulphurous springs. This place has won local renown for its sulphur baths and quite a number of rheumatic sufferers have visited it. Hami, farther along the coast, has an even larger number of hot springs, but the picturesque site of Tubala suggests the possibility of a Spa hotel, easily accessible by car from Shihr, and we have rather prematurely considered the positions of the Pump Room and Concert Hall in the Spa Gardens. In view of the progressive ideas of His Highness and the Seiyids in the interior, the provision of a few hotels is not an unlikely development before long, and the country will be an ideal winter resort. Shihr is the principal market for the whole of the eastern Hadhramaut, including all the Kathiri country, and its imports by sea are very considerable, although it is worse off for harbour facilities than Mukalla, as it is nothing but an open roadstead and has no jetties; but apart from the local Aden steamers even ocean-going steamers call there as well as at Mukalla.

Most of the carrying trade is in the hands of the great Hamumi tribe, which has no real villages of its own and extremely few dwelling-houses, but which owns a very large number of camels. The chief of the tribe also owns a great quantity of date palms in different parts of the Hamumi country. I have recently done a considerable amount of flying over Hamumi country which extends over about 3000 square miles and is now well known to the Royal Air Force.

When we first went up the road to Tarim in November 1936 the car road was of course not completed and some 20 miles northwards from Shihr there was a gap which had to be traversed by donkey through Ma'adi, the country of the Ba Hasan Tanbulis who had steadfastly resisted the attempts of Seiyid Bubekr and the Al Kaf family to complete it. These Ba Hasan Tanbulis are allied to the Hamumis and are nicknamed Tanbuli because they are the only people in the whole of the Protectorate who grow betel nut and pepper vine, though Ibn Batuta speaks of it at Dhufar a good deal to the east, and I expect it exists there still. There is nothing much in the countenances of the Ba Hasanis to make you think they are related to the Hamumis, for as a whole the Hamumis are fine-looking men and uncouth is a mild word to describe the general run of Ba Hasanis. Hamumis themselves have said to me that they are not human beings, and an Arab friend, when we were looking at some of the more primitive of them, said to me: "They only want tails and you would say they are monkeys." However they grow on you as I daresay monkeys do after a time, and I am now quite fond of them. When

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

In Ṭarīm many houses belonging to the wealthy saiyids seem to have a name chosen by the owner, and Saiyid 'Umar b. Šaiḫ Āl Kāf, our neighbour in Tarīm, called his house al-'Iššah, or 'the nest', but others seem to be called after the name ot the locality, or as the Ḥaḍramī says, after the name of the well, such as the house Ḥamṭūṭ, our neighbour to the east. Houses in Tarīm often have chronograms over the door, generally some pious phrase, worked in the plaster and painted. In Šibām the Maṣna'ah or fort has inscriptions, including dates, in the woodwork. I am convinced that herein lies the explanation of why so very few pre-Islamic and early Islamic inscriptions have been found in Ḥaḍramawt. On dams, on buildings, even in the mosques, the inscriptions which today record the foundation, or repairs effected to a construction, are all drawn in the plaster. The only two Kufic inscriptions I saw in Ḥaḍramawt were on the grave-stones at Ḳabr Nabī Allāh Hūd, and the strange shrine of Mawlā Maṭar. Pre-Islamic stone inscriptions will of course be discovered when excavation is made in the mud mounds which represent the ancient towns and villages of the country.

The sacrificial rites described here are probably general to South-West Arabia. (In the Ṣubaiḥī village of Am-Fadjarah, west of Aden I came across very similar practices. A ewe (ġanamah) was slaughtered at the foundation (sās). In the space under the stairs called ḳuṭb, when it was made, another was slaughtered, and on completion of the building a third ewe, called the iklīl or 'crown', was also immolated. As the occupier of the house in question I was asked to defray the cost of these. This is some hundreds of miles from Ḥaḍramawt.) Comparisons with ritual in the ancient world may be made by scholars.

According to my early notes in Tarīm, every craft seems to have different categories of workmen, perhaps graded, but I did not explore this possibility. A fully trained craftsman is called a mu'allim, and if you want to have a house built, you go to the mu'allim. Tarīm once had fifty to sixty mu'allims, but now (1947) there are probably only about thirty. Other categories are, the musawwis who builds the dry stone foundation of your house, and the bānī who builds with the clay bricks (madar) and clay (ṭīn). A bānī in Ḥaḍramawt is also a potter (syn. in Yemen, maddār). I heard of an architect in Tarīm who bore the name 'Umar Ya'mur

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

which is interesting, because the name for a builder in other parts of South-West Arabia is 'ammār (verb, 'ammar yi'ammir).

When you start to put the first clay brick (madrah) on the stone foundation of your house, you slaughter a sheep or two, or more if you are a rich man. You invite one of the Ṣāliḥīn (pious) such as a saiyid or manṣab to lay the first madrah; a cermony is made out of the entire proceeding, and an entertainment given known as the ḍiyāfah of the laying of the brick (ṭarḥ al-madrah). A sheep is slaughtered on one of the corners (ḫuṯm pl. ḫiṯam), probably the first to be completed. You then take the sheep's head and lay it on each corner for about a minute or so, in order that the blood may be scattered on each corner. This is done to stop the Djinn from entering the house. Sometimes, if you are slaughtering two head of sheep, you kill on one ḫuṯm and anoint a second, then you kill again, and blood the remaining two. If it is a large house like al-Munaiṣūrah, the Āl Yaḥyā house in which we were living, one may slaughter eight to ten sheep. A photograph of the sās of a house building in Daw'an stained with the blood of a sacrifice is shown by Ingrams [1].

As the sheep is slaughtered, one of the ḫaddāmīn (i.e. the workers on the building) gets on top of the foundation (sās) and halloos (yiḫawwil), and all the other other ḫaddāmīn do the same. (This hallooing is also performed when the rain-flood is coming down the Wādī, and by the Bedouin on the Djōls when rain comes.) They then repeat a number of formulae for good luck, such as the following : —

> Ṣallū 'alā Muḥammad — wa-ṭuwwil 'umr fulān bin fulān — Allāh ya'ṭīh min-'aṭā' — wa-yarzuḳuh māl wa-'ayāl, etc.
>
> Bless Muḥammad — and make long the life of so and so (the master of the house) — God give him sustenance — and provide him with money and off-spring.

The sheep's carcase is then taken to a house and divided, one quarter goes to the owner of the house which is being built, one fifth of the remainder goes to the Dawlah (Sultan), two fifths go to Ahl al-Sās, i.e. the builders of the foundations who in

[1] See art. noted in the bibliography.

19: Serjeant U-4 (no date 1949 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

fall out with him, or find that he is not doing his work properly, you give him ḳuṣū'ah, and then dismiss him. Unless you do so, you will find that another carpenter will not come and work for you. If you tried to employ a different carpenter the latter would ask about the first carpenter and make sure that he obtained his ḳuṣū'ah before he left you. The Bā Sumbul (or Sumbil) who make stone querns, pestles, and work stone of all kinds, and the Baḳḳārah (cattlemen, ploughmen) will not allow you to change the particular member of their group who works for you at all. The only exception made is if you have had to dismiss the man you were employing, for laziness, incompetence, or disobedience; then you inform the next man you wish to employ of your reason for dismissing his predecessor. The new employee in turn ascertains from the man you have just dismissed that what you say is true, and if your case is just, he will come and work for you. This system is however confined to the two classes last mentioned only. The poet 'Askūl says : —

Wa'rdja' takhabbar 'ala 'l-wakḳār
Lī šāll mawḳaruh li-'l-aḥdjār
Bā Šumbil illī yabī' al-sufūn.

Come ask about the stone worker
Who to the stones bears his hammer
Ba Sumbil who sells column-drums.

This faḥīdah of the Bā Sumbil has the moropoly in making stones for columns (safan), pestles (ḳuṣrah), etc. They live in the suburb known as 'Aidīd. They do not allow any one else to carry on this work, and I am informed that they can even take people to court for infringing on their monopoly. The Baḳḳārah too have a similar monopoly in their profession.

As evidence of the power of the guilds of workmen in Tārīm the following incident is relevant. Some time before the advent of the British to Ḥaḍramawt, the Sultans of Tarīm, some of the wealthier saiyids, and others who were then constructing the large palaces for which it is famous, determined to lower the wages of the builders there. So they brought them together, and told them that they had resolved to make a reduction (nuḳṣān) in their wages. The builders refused. The Kathīrī Sultan however, consenting that

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

known as al-Saḥīl, lying to the south of it. Al-Ḥāwī is a ḥawṭah or sacred enclave, the property of the Āl Ḥaddād saiyids. Amongst other ḥawṭahs in Tarīm are Ḥawṭat al-Šaiḫ (Ḥusain b. 'Abdullāh al-'Aidarūs), (this saint being the brother of al-'Adanī), lying to the west of the Djāmi' mosque, and Ḥawṭat Bā 'Alawī, the capital of the 'Alawī saiyids. Perhaps at one time these ḥawṭahs had an independent organisation of their own, distinct from that of the rest of Tarīm as al-Ḥāwī has to this day. Raḥaiyam Bā Faḍl indeed remarked that the city contained many old ḥawṭahs which are no longer treated as ḥawṭahs, but have become only quarters (ḥārah). The Masākīn of al-Ḥāwī are independent of the other quarters of Tarīm, and follow the Manṣab who is, of course, an Āl Ḥaddād saiyid.

The other quarters of Tarīm are Ḥārat al-Ruḍaimah which follows the Sūḳ quarter (tābi'ah li-Ḥārat al-Sūḳ); that is to say that the Masākīn of the quarter follow those of the Sūḳ quarter on ceremonial occasions, join with them in defence of their rights, and probably use the same tanṣūrahs. Then there is the suburb *extra muros* of Tarīm, Ḥārat 'Aidīd which follows Ḥārat al-Ḥilaif. There is Ḥārat al-Midjaff which follows the Sūḳ quarter; according to al-Fawā'id al-Sanīyah [6] this quarter was once known as Ḥārat al-Ḳaṣṣārīn, though not in the author's day, presumably because laundering was done there, though it may have been the quarter where the periodical dying of clothes with indigo was performed. The remaining quarters are Āl al-Siddah, i.e. the Gate Section who follow the Sūḳ quarter, Āl al-Fidjir who are ḍu'afā al-Sūḳ, and the Āl al-Ḥalīf who are ḍu'afā following the Saḥīl quarter.

621 565 463 Those who follow the Sūḳ quarter follow the dallāls [7] and the carpenters (nadjar, pl. of nadjdjār) of the Sūḳ; they go with them on the pilgrimage to Hūd, and accompany them to put out fires, etc.

[6] Composed in 1203 H. (1789 A.D.), see my *Materials*, *op. cit.*, p. 296. This source also mentions another quarter known as حارة الازرة which is said by some in that day to have been the old town from which building had spread out especially towards the north, but this old part of the city was not apparently on the main road from East to West.

[7] The dallāl is the intermediary between the tribesman and the shop-keeper. He is an important and interesting figure in the economic life of the country, but is of course of the Miskīn class.

20: Serjeant U-4 (no date) 1950 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

When there is a fire the people in the streets should out « Wa-'n-nār wa-'n-nār », or, if there has been an accident when some one has fallen into a well, « Wa-'l-bīr ». At this all of the males of the quarter come running out at a trot, leaving their occupations. If it is a fire they take tanaks (tins) and fill them at the mosque cistern (djābiyah). Only the Masākīn perform these duties of course, not the saiyids or mašā'iḫ. Apart from the occasions cited in a previous article[8] another time when the quarter turns out is when a clay-bank (djurf) of a water-channel or water-course has fallen on top of some person or persons. The latter are dug out by the quarter.

Each quarter has a tanṣūrah (pl. tanāṣīr), a kind of rallying-song or theme special to each quarter, and doubtless each with its special tune. These tanṣūrahs are used on all sorts of occasions, festal or otherwise, and probably, indeed, whenever a body of men from the quarter assemble together. The tanṣūrah may be compared in some respects with the tribal ṣarḫah and 'azwah[9] examples of which are given by Landberg. The following are examples of some of the themes used by the principal quarters of Tarīm.

1. Ahl al-Sūḳ

a. Metre : Wāfir type, ‖—|———∪|———∪

لَنَا ٱلنَّزَايِدْ وَفِينَا ٱلزَّايِدْ

Metre : Raǧaz type, ‖—|—∪——|—∪—∪

وَشَيْخنَا ٱلْمخضَار مَعْنا

« We have the most, and amongst us lies the most.
And our Šaiḫ al-Miḥḍār is with us. »

As the metre of these two pieces differs I assume they are independent of each other though given me as a single tanṣūrah. The sense is that the Ahl al-Sūḳ is greater in numbers than any other quarter, it being the largest of all. Al-Miḥḍār is the celebrated Tarīmī saint.

[8] *The Cemeteries of Tarīm, op. cit.*
[9] C. DE LANDBERG, *Arabica IV* (Leiden, 1897), pp. 18, 20, etc.

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The visit to Sayyid Abū Bakr was quite official in character; there are still risks ahead, we do not yet know each other and, on either side, are cautious. The other government officials whom we visited appeared to be men, not of the country itself, but of India or Aden. Trade and banking have been monopolised by the Indians, but latterly the Ḥaḍramīs have been endeavouring to oust them.

As many Ḥaḍramīs are Dutch subjects and as I was considered to be their partisan, an impression which had been still further strengthened by our intercourse with Sayyid ᶜAluwī el-ᶜAṭṭās, we did not succeed in extracting much information from these Indian officials.

Makalla has about 12000 inhabitants. The passport officer told us that about 1000 Ḥaḍramīs come from Java every year and as many return there; 400 to 500 pass through esh-Shiḥr. Half of them take passage on through boats, while the other half travel via Aden and Singapore. We also heard from him that the old Arab custom of coffee drinking was being superseded here, but still more so in Ḥaḍramaut Proper by the tea-drinking habit, brought over from India and the Dutch East Indies. When we paid visits, tea was offered us more often than coffee. The weak brew stands ready prepared, with much milk and sugar, in a large enamelled kettle.

The chief Customs House officer kept the import and export figures secret, pretending that the money value of the imports was only of interest to himself and that he had never formed a clear idea of the total amount of the imported goods. The chief article imported is rice, from Bengal. The 40.000 or so *cases of kerosene and gasoline, which are now a yearly necessity*, will rapidly increase in the future.

8. A CLIMB ON THE MOUNTAIN RIDGE BEHIND MAKALLA.

One afternoon, surrounded by a crowd of youngsters, we clambered up the steep, reddish wall of rock behind the town. The view over city and sea from the edge of the plateau, 600 ft. high, is unique. There are four white towers for defence

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

162 According to my informant, Ḥurēḍa has now about
581 2000 inhabitants. There are some 4000 people living in Java who originally came thence. During the last 20 years from 300 to 400 men have left Ḥurēḍa to try their luck in Java. The successful ones come back occasionally for short periods and then return again to their business in the Indies. When they can afford it, they send their sons to Ḥaḍramaut, where they remain for five or six years to become intimate with their family, language, religion and traditions. The daughters *never* come from Java to Ḥaḍramaut just as the women here *never* go to Java. Consequently the children born there are always of mixed race. Sayyid Ḥasan could only remember one Ḥaḍramī woman who had succeeded in carrying through her wish of accompanying her husband to Batavia. Generally the wives do not wish, nor have they the courage, to do so.
167 I learned later on that Javanese and Chinese women are, how-
●463 ever, brought to Ḥaḍramaut. They are said to be very much
162 sought after as housekeepers and cooks. Purely Javanese boys, who have come to study the religion and language, are not to be found in Ḥurēḍa, and only a few in other towns of Ḥaḍramaut. Sayyid Ḥasan estimates the number of Ḥaḍramīs living in Hyderabad to be at least 13.000, for the greater part serving as men and officers of the *Niẓām*'s Arabian regiment. Many of the families of note here have Hyderabad officers among their ancestors.

[162] In Shibām, Sēwūn, Terīm and ᶜĒnāt there are, according
565 to my informant, 6000 sayyids, and another 4000 in Wādī Dōᶜan, Wādīᶜ Amd, Wādī Rakhīya, and Djibāl Hadjaz. Three divisions of the Ḥumūmī Bedouins are sayyids. Originally their leaders were sayyids, who were gradually absorbed into the tribe of which they have come to form a part. All sayyids in Ḥaḍramaut belong to the ᶜAluwī branch. The founder of the family was ᶜAluwī binᶜUbēd Allāh bin Aḥmed (who came from ᶜIrāq) binᶜĪsā bin ᶜAlī el-ᶜUrēḍī bin Djaᶜfar eṣ-Ṣādiq bin Muḥammad el-Bāqir bin Zain el-ᶜĀbidīn bin Ḥusēn bin ᶜAlī bin Abī Ṭālib. In Ḥaḍramaut Proper the sayyids have still an in-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

He cannot resist the wishes of his guests and very soon there is again a crowd of inquisitive people in the sweltering upper room, staring at us and hampering us with questions and loud conversation.

2. PROSE AND POETRY IN WĀDĪ ḤADJR.

We manage, by exercising much insistence, to get off at four o'clock that afternoon. There are two roads to Makalla: one goes direct through the mountains, the other makes a great circuit by following the main wādī as far as the sea and then going up the coast to Makalla. The mountain route is the shortest but the hardest; we are told that it is *too* hard for our camels, who are not strong. Moreover, it would be unsafe for our little company in the mountains, in the absence of an armed escort. Considering that even Little, with a big military escort, was attacked in this country — a sayyid who was acting as his guide was killed in an engagement — we accepted the assertions of the people in Ṣidāra as reasonable and therefore chose the detour by way of the wādī, which however has a bad name for malaria. Little had to contend much with this illness: his escort had to be almost entirely renewed after a short sojourn in Wādī Ḥadjr. We tried to avoid risk by sleeping away from human habitation and, as far as possible, on high-lying, dry ground.

The caravan was under the leadership of a strong, slight Arab, of the name of Dhēb. He had spent his youth as hostage in the Sultan's palace at Makalla. This shows that Ṣidāra some twenty years ago was still a part of the Qeʿēṭī territory, but that the Sultan considered it necessary to strengthen his hold on the country by bringing up the sons of the leading families in his palace. It was to this circumstance that Dhēb owed his education — for this country a very good one — and he was much more cultivated than the other young men of Ṣidāra. In spite of his long hair, his face was handsomer and gentler in expression than is usually the case here. We also had

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

with us ᶜAlī, an old and rather sour man, who was proud of being able to read and who faithfully spelt out the names of the places that we passed. When we had gone a little way he asked if we would buy a pair of spectacles for him at the *sūq*, the bazaar, of the Bandar (the seaport town, *i. e.* Makalla) so that he could better read the Koran. Our third man, ᶜAbdallāh, is a very ordinary sort of Bedouin; he speaks little, but startles us time and again on the march by his monotonously ugly and melancholy Bedouin singsong: *"Yā dānā . . . ā . . . ā . . . ā!"* etc. Finally there is little Muḥammad, an indefatigable boy of twelve, who is now having his first experience of a journey of this kind and who has never yet seen either the sea or a town. Besides these, a weaver from Makalla has joined our caravan with a baggage camel and two boys. We ourselves have an enormous camel that we call the *fīl* or elephant, a female camel for the milk supply, and a young and slender animal making its first trip.

The caravan leaders here wear a strange kind of sandals. Broad strips of leather cover not only the whole upper part of the foot but extend out beyond the sole, which makes a rustling noise in walking. It is meant to keep off snakes and scorpions, especially on night journeys. Because of the richer vegetation and greater moisture, these creatures seem to be more prevalent here than in the arid interior, where sandals are chiefly worn in the afternoon to protect the feet from the heat of the ground.

Nearly all the men of the village accompany us through the palm-gardens to the river; we wade through the warm water and then come to more date-groves. After that there are *dhura* fields, which finally give place to shrubs, grasses and acacia trees. We make a short cut where the river bends; the fringe of palms continues uninterruptedly beside the water.

Dhēb declares himself ready for *takalluf*, *i. e.* for doing his utmost, so it is perhaps possible that we shall reach Makalla in six days. As soon as we enter the region mapped out by Little, Von Wissmann is able to give up his detailed survey

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Hadhramaut MM2

000 It is hard to reach any considered opinion on the significance of these events, and on the general position of the Bahrein community owing to the scantiness of available information.

HADHRAMAUT

563 A large proportion of the population of Hadhramaut is nomadic; and the Jews in the area fit in to the tribal pattern of life. A number of tribes have groups of Jews under their protection. Generally speaking, each tribe relies on its Jews for craftsmen and artisans. Thus, the Jews, while being a tolerated minority inferior in status to the Muslims, are also a valuable minority; and if a Jew belonging to one tribe should be harmed by a member of another tribe, then the Muslims of his own tribe would at once be up in arms in his defence. On the other hand, for the Muslim the Jew is an object of complete contempt and treated accordingly. It is an archaic pattern of existence, hard for the Western mind to appreciate. But it would be wrong to assume that the status of the Hadhrami Jews—who have never known anything better—is an intolerable burden for them.

A typical example of a Jewish community in the Hadhramaut is that of Habban, a small town lying about 225 miles, as the crow flies, north-east of Aden, and about 150 miles west of Mukalla.

According to local legend, the Habbani Jews settled in the area before the destruction of the Second Temple. The surrounding country being wild and undeveloped, the community is isolated. None the less, religious tradition and the knowledge of Hebrew are kept alive. Thus the Habban Jewish community has in its possession copies of the *Mishnah*, the *Talmud*, and even the *Shulkhan Arukh*.

[413] As elsewhere in the Hadhramaut, the Habbani Jews are the craftsmen and artisans of the tribe. Among them the silversmiths are particularly prized. The Muslim tribesmen bring them silver in rings or in the form of coins to have it smelted or worked into ornaments. Few Habbani Jews go in for breeding livestock—an important occupation in the area. When their services are called for in the surrounding villages and encampments, the Jewish craftsmen use the normal means of transport in this remote district—camels, mules, or donkeys.

The Habbani Jews observe Jewish ritual strictly in accordance with the practices and customs of Judaism in Arabia. They are polygamous and have Arabic names. Jewish women, like their Muslim sisters, go about veiled; and, of course, never leave home unaccompanied. The handful who have succeeded in making their way to Israel say that in the past the Jews have lived in peace with the Muslims and been on good terms with them. More recently, however, their position appears to have deteriorated considerably. The present ruler of the Habban tribe has imposed upon the local Jews discriminatory taxation and other forms of financial extortion. He has even gone so far as to demand their conversion to Islam. Whether this deterioration is confined to Habban or is general in the Hadhramaut is not known. Van den

5:Gt. Brit. . Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM21

population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

Chapter 3 : Occupations and Wages

By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture involving about 90 per cent. of the population. Other occupations are dyeing, weaving and the preparation of hides and skins. Wages vary greatly from 12 as. to Rs. 1.8.0. Working hours vary, being about 60 hours a week from April to October and less from November to March.

Chapter 4 : Public Finance and Taxation

The following are summaries of expenditure in the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorate budgets (1947–48):

Western Aden Protectorate

	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	26,346
Government Guards	42,322
Subsidies to local forces	5,474
Medical	5,373
Education	2,121
Aden Protectorate College	3,795
Agriculture	12,641
W/T Establishment	981
TOTAL	99,053

Eastern Aden Protectorate

	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	18,598
Military Hospital	887
Hadhrami Bedouin Legion	15,397
Subsidies to local forces	7,761
Medical	445
Education	3,384
Agriculture	750
Miscellaneous Services Subsidies	720
Relief Works	84,037
TOTAL	131,979

6:Gt. Brit. Colonial Office G-3 (1948) 1950 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut NM2

721 643 Saudi and Hadhrami delegates at Al Abr. Proposals were made and agreed upon, but ratification by the Saudi Government was delayed.

648 619 In the Qu'aiti State the uneasy truce was continued while the Manahil and the Hamumi showed a tendency to break the peace as their truce drew near its end in December; notably two of the Beit Ali fired on and looted a car near Gheil Umar. The truce with the Hamumi was not renewed as it was considered improper for the Qu'aiti Government to be bound by a truce with its own subjects.

578 721 619 In the area of Wadi 'Amd the murder of a chief of Al Suweidan led to a military operation against the Muqaddam of Ba Suleib, who had refused to surrender the murderers (who were from his tribe). The Muqaddam was killed during the assault and his town occupied. This success had a most salutary political effect throughout the whole Wadi, and it proved possible to enforce the registration of arms. As a result the Mansab of Budha, a chief of the Deiyyin tribe of evil fame, and the Muqaddam of the Bal 'Ubeid—an important confederation living west of Wadi 'Amd—submitted to Government.

000 The Kathiri and Wahidi States were quiet.

The British Agent and Resident Adviser, Mr. C. H. J. Sheppard, went on leave pending retirement in November.

[648] The Qu'aiti Sultan returned to Mukalla from India in the spring. Sultan Nasir bin Abdullah Al Wahidi was recognised by His Majesty's Government as the Treaty Sultan of Balhaf.

Chapter 2: Population

162 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs, with the exception of 2,000 Jews. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about roughly 300,000.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Western Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving as it does about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 467 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½ for an adult or a boy over 12. Working hours vary considerably—from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western and Eastern Aden Protectorates' expenditure for the year 1948–49 as well as some State figures for the same year.

Chapter 2: Population

161 The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the
167 Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. All the Jews in Wahidi State emigrated to Israel in 1950, and there are now no Jews in the Eastern Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Occupations and Wages

●463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from Re. 1 to Rs. 1½. Working hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably fewer from November to March.
467 There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 4: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of the Western Aden Protectorate's expenditure for the years 1949-50 and 1950-51:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1949–50	1950–51
	£	£
Staff and Miscellaneous	45,313	64,026
Government Guards (includes Wireless Telegraphy establishment)	60,754	75,051
Subsidies to local forces	5,257	3,638
Medical	6,964	7,005
Education	3,030	3,926
Aden Protectorate College	3,614	3,681
Agriculture	10,245	11,172
	135,177	168,499

8:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1951-52)1954 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

PART V

Chapter 1: Population

161 THE population of the Western Aden Protectorate is in the neighbourhood of 350,000, all Shafa'i Arabs. These figures are very approximate as no census of the population has been made. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at about 300,000. There are no
167 Jews now in the Eastern and Western Protectorates as they have all emigrated to Israel.

Chapter 2: Occupations and Wages

463 By far the most important occupation in the Aden Protectorate is agriculture, involving about 90 per cent of the population; other occupations are dyeing, weaving, fishing, and the preparation of hides and skins.

465 Wages vary greatly, generally from *Shs.*1.50 to *Shs.*3 per day. Working
467 hours vary considerably: from April to October they amount to about 60 hours a week, but are considerably shorter from November to March. There are no labour organisations in the Protectorate.

Chapter 3: Public Finance and Taxation

652 The following is a summary of Her Majesty's Government's expenditure in the Protectorates for the years 1951–52 and 1952–53:

WESTERN ADEN PROTECTORATE

	1951–52 £	1952–53 £
Staff and Miscellaneous	40,706	51,054
Government Guards (including W/T establishments)	68,602	84,858
Subsidies to Local Forces	3,411	2,801
Health	7,315	16,110
Education	3,213	7,753
Aden Protectorate College	2,229	—
Agriculture	10,158	14,083
	135,624	176,659

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

though owning a large proportion of the land, they employ slaves or hired labourers to cultivate it. As compared with the other classes, they are well educated, are strict in their religious observances, and, owing to the respect due to their descent, they exercise a strong influence both in temporal and spiritual matters.

The *Tribesmen*, as in Arabia generally, are the most interesting part of the Hadhramaut population and are the predominant class. All the adults carry arms. Some of the tribes have settled towns; others lead a nomadic life, keeping, however, within their own recognized territory. They are divided into families, each headed by a chief or Abu, while the head of the tribe is known as the Muqaddam, or tribal lord. Though the tribesmen are not his subjects, he is their leader in war or peace; he can rule only with their support, and his authority depends largely on his personality. For the distribution, numbers, and influence of the principal tribes, see the section 'Government', (p. 229 f.).

The *Townsmen* are the free inhabitants of the towns and villages as distinguished from the Seyyids and the tribesmen; they do not carry arms, but are the working members of the community, merchants, citizens, cultivators, and servants, and are entirely dependent on the tribes and chiefs under whose protection they live. It is to be noted that taxes fall almost exclusively on them.

The *Servile class* contains a large African element, brought over formerly when the slave trade flourished on this coast. They follow the profession of their masters, i. e. the slaves of a member of a tribe carry arms or cultivate the fields; those of a townsman follow the occupation of the master. As in all Mohammedan countries, they are generally well treated and often rise to positions of trust.

A large number of Arabs from Hadhramaut go abroad, the Kathīri especially being enterprising travellers; many of the Ka'aiti take service in the irregular troops of Haidarabad, and emigration to the Dutch colonies in Java and Sumatra has also gone on since the beginning of the nineteenth century. On the other hand, a large number of Parsee and British-Indian traders have established themselves in the Hadhramaut ports, which carry on a considerable coasting trade with the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Domestic Life and Appliances

The houses in the Hadhramaut are often well ventilated and comparatively clean. A feature that first strikes the traveller is the form and character of the larger houses of well-to-do townsmen. Often several storeys in height, they are mainly built of